National AND ENGLISH

Review

Vol. 152

JANUARY, 1959

No. 911

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THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

Episodes of the Month

WHY NO WRITS?

N December, 1956, we wrote:—"It is being widely alleged, and widely believed, that the British and French Governments had foreknowledge of Israel's intention [to attack Egypt]; that the attack was, in fact, launched with their connivance. It has even been reported that French pilots took part in the operation. Unless and until these heinous charges are proved up to the hilt we shall refuse to believe them. If there were any truth in them at all the two Governments would stand convicted of one of the most outrageous crimes in the recent

history of civilized States".

Now Mr. Randolph Churchill, in a series of extracts in the Daily Express from a forthcoming book on Sir Anthony Eden, has plainly stated that the British Government connived at and helped to plot a deliberate aggression against Egypt; that their show of negotiation during the months which preceded the ultimatum on October 30th, 1956, was only a pretence, to allow time for military preparations which were delayed through incompetence; and that they deceived this country's Commonwealth partners, its closest ally, the United Nations, Parliament, and the British public, as to their true intentions. That such statements should be made, without documentary proof, is an act of breath-taking effrontery on the part of Mr. Churchill. But even more fantastic is the failure, as we go to press, of Sir Anthony Eden, Mr. Macmillan and others who have been so monstrously defamed, to institute proceedings against him for libel.

Questioned in the House of Commons, Mr. Macmillan has merely said that the same charges were made two years ago and rebutted in debate: he has stood by the rebuttal and announced that final judgment must rest with the electorate. But this is an attitude which will satisfy only those who are anxious, for their own reasons, to forget about Suez. It will not satisfy those who care about the truth, since it must be obvious that the electors are not competent to decide an intricate question of fact, without access to the detailed evidence which is at present being kept secret. Nor will it satisfy the world at large, which has been reading summarized reports Churchill's articles and has been leaping to the conclusion that British politicians are, if anything, worse scoundrels than those whom they have so often condemned in other lands. Above all, it seems to us that an electoral verdict, however favourable, could not possibly satisfy Sir Anthony Eden and members of his Cabinet, since such a verdict would be general and nebulous, whereas the accusations are limited and specific.

This is not, of course, a party matter, and it has been made even less so by the cowardice and ineptitude of the Labour Opposition since the Suez crisis. At that time it seemed that they were valiant for truth, but their behaviour since has left them open to the suspicion that they were in fact only valiant for votes. When it became apparent to them that a large section of their own rank-and-file were thoroughly jingoistic, and that a majority of the country was probably not anti-Suez, their indignation seems to have subsided, and they have been saying comparatively little about Suez during the past two years. In particular, they have not

been pressing for an inquiry into the events leading up to the ultimatum and the attack on Egypt, nor have they pledged themselves to set up a Commission of Inquiry as soon as they are returned to power. A possible leakage of Bank rate secrets has appeared to them more worthy of investigation than an episode in which the reputation of Britain suffered a crippling blow. They have tried to gain some political advantage from Mr. Churchill's allegations, but they have not acted as people who really care about the country's good name. There are, however, in the Tory Party many who bitterly regret the Suez policy and are profoundly uneasy about its origins and the way the party leaders sought to justify it at the time. They would like to know the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the trutheven though it might not be of immediate electoral benefit to the Party. In the long run the standards of British politics are more important than the careers of any ephemeral group of British politicians.

And why, if they have not been lying, should members of the Eden Cabinet fear the effects upon their careers of a judicial examination? Why should they not be eager to subject themselves and all the relevant facts to public scrutiny? A junior Minister recently resigned and passed into oblivion and disgrace when he was charged (he had not yet been tried) with having committed an act of indecency in St. James's Park. The Prime Minister and others have been depicted as barefaced liars and cold-blooded conspirators on the grand scale, who secretly planned and launched an aggressive war in which thousands of innocent lives were lost, millions of pounds squandered, and the moral standing of their country jeopardized. If they fear the results of proceedings in court they must surely, like Mr. Ian Harvey, resign. If not, they must lose no more time in serving writs for libel, so that they may vindicate their own-and the nation's-honour.

Dossier No. 9

R. A. BUTLER

HE is the Abbé Siéyès of the Conservative Party-the man who survives. For twenty out of the last twenty-six years he has been a Minister of the Crown, a record unequalled in this century. Disasters have passed him by: he is one of only three Ministers of the Munich Government who are in office today, and this is all the more remarkable, in that the other two-Geoffrey Lloyd, who was then Under-Secretary at the Home Office, and Lord Dundee at the Scottish Office-could be said to have had little or no direct responsibility for Munich, whereas Butler was Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, with the Secretary of State (Halifax) in the Lords.

Again, two years ago, when he failed to succeed Eden as Prime Minister, he appeared to be finished. Yet he did not allow disappointment to upset him to the extent of prejudicing his future. He remains a dominant figure in the Government, in Parliament, and in the country. For a man of his eminence he is still comparatively young (56), and it is probable, though not quite certain, that if anything were now to

happen to Macmillan the Queen would send for Butler. If she did so her choice would, however, be mistaken, because he is not the stuff of which good leaders are made. A leader must be capable of taking a strong line, yet Butler's instinct is always to trim, to accommodate, to compromise. This fatal defect may be caused by an excess of ambition, combined with a faulty assumption that to succeed in politics one must be all things to all men; or it may be due to an essentially academic and unemotional approach to politics. Anyone who has observed him at the Dispatch Box, awkwardly gesturing with that injured right arm (it was hurt in an accident when he was a boy), and expounding some measure, or defending some action, in a flat even voice, must feel that he is somehow out of place. He plays the party game, of course, but his partisan speeches generally sound bad and the self-satisfied chuckle with which he makes a flagrantly party point enhances the feeling that he is taking a detached and rather amused view of his own performance. An opponent has said that he "conscien-



Keystone

MR. BUTLER WITH HIS WIFE (EXTREME RIGHT) AND TWO OF HIS CHILDREN, 1954.

tiously objects to Socialism, because he positively believes in the principle of inequality".* But there are some who would say that he has no positive political beliefs, and many who would claim that one of his greatest virtues is that he treats people socially, if not intellectually, as equals.

He was born in India, where his father, Montagu Butler, earned distinction. His family have been noted both for scholarship and for public service. After Marlborough he went to Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he took a Double First in French in the Modern Language Tripos, followed by a First in History. He was also President of the Union. With this record it was not surprising that he was elected to a Fellowship at Corpus, but he remained an active don (he is still one in spirit) for only four years. In 1926 he married Sydney Courtauld, who gave him the financial security necessary in those days for a political career—and much more besides. Her influence on him was profound. She had the strength and forthrightness of character which he lacks, and she was also very liberal in her views. When she died in 1954, after a painful illness, he was so distressed that his judgment suffered:

 R. H. S. Crossman in The Charm of Politics (Hamish Hamilton, 18s.) the errors which he committed at that time were undoubtedly aggravated by her death. They had three sons, and a daughter considerably younger to whom R.A.B. now turns the devotion which he previously lavished on his wife. There are very few photographs of the Butler family and he has resisted all attempts to expose his private life to the glare of publicity. It has been a joy and solace to him, yet he is basically a lonely man, with few close friends, and loneliness has driven him to concentrate on his work and on his one relaxation, painting.

In 1929 he entered Parliament as Tory Member for Saffron Walden in Essex-a seat which is by no means safe, but which he has held ever since. In 1932 he was given his first Ministerial post, that of Under-Secretary at the India Office. His Departmental chief (who had asked for his appointment) was Sir Samuel Hoare, now Lord Templewood, whose Government of India Bill he helped to pilot through the House of Commons against the ferocious opposition of Winston Churchill. A short spell at the Ministry of Labour followed; then—in the critical year of 1938—he was sent to the Foreign Office after the Eden-Cranborne resignation. The new Secretary of State being in the Lords, Neville Chamberlain himself took charge of foreign

affairs in the House of Commons, but he was far too busy to handle the day-to-day business, so the junior Minister had to carry an exceptionally heavy burden. Once again, he was confronted by Churchill, who this time was more formidable than before. because he was in the right. Butler proved himself to be a master of stone-walling, of saying nothing in a variety of ways, with those sly little twists which still emergealmost, as it seems, against his will-even when he is trying to be statesmanlike.

On October 5th, 1938, it fell to him to wind up the first day's debate on the Munich Agreement. His speech on that occasion repays study, for it reveals the man more fully than any other he has made. In it may be seen all those characteristics which have made him so admired-and so mistrusted-in the twenty years that have since elapsed. From the pages of Hansard the early, but authentic, R.A.B. comes to life again with startling vividness; the dry, cold voice may be heard once again pronouncing Britain's sentence on the Czechoslovak people. He began with a veiled suggestion that he himself had no responsibility for the policy. He had been absent from the scene, he said, having been at the League of Nations Assembly throughout the crisis. After this implied disclaimer, he launched into one of those paeans of praise for his chief which are among his specialities-the poison thinly concealed by the honey. The House could have no idea how much the Prime Minister was admired abroad: foreign statesmen had been coming up to him in droves, pouring out their blessings on the saviour of Europe. But he said nothing to indicate that the Under-Secretary agreed, nor did he refer to the state of public opinion at home. His speech was a brilliant, icy analysis of the Agreement, perhaps the best intellectual defence of it

NEXT MONTH

EGYPT REVISITED by Nadine Gordimer

Dossier No. 10: Mrs. Pandit

The Index to Volume CLI (July-December 1958) is now available on application to The National and English Review, 2 Breams Buildings, London, E.C.4.

that could ever be contrived. Yet the whole episode was viewed with an historian's eye: there was no sense of involvement, no emotion, no appearance of sympathy for the unfortunate Czechs.

Nowadays he is reticent about his share in the Munich catastrophe. He seems, in fact, to have little interest in foreign affairs, and little desire to return to the Foreign Office (though appearances may be decep-It is significant that the "brains tive). trust" with which he surrounded himself after 1945 consisted for the most part of men who were liberal in domestic matters, reactionary on questions of foreign policy. Though liberal himself on both counts this did not worry him, because he was content to leave foreign affairs to Eden: they were his business. His own job was to bring about a revolution in Tory thinking on the home front: what happened outside did not

seriously concern him.

He stayed on at the Foreign Office until 1941, but the antagonism between him and Eden was bound to create an uneasy relationship, and Churchill, though he had always disliked him, realized that his superlative talents would be better employed elsewhere. He was appointed President of the Board of Education, in which capacity nobody expected to hear any more of him for the duration of the War. Ministers in such Departments were meant to keep quiet and prepare plans which might, or might not, be implemented when the War was won. But Butler refused to accept a passive role and established himself, before the end of hostilities, as a major social reformer. The Education Act of 1944 was the first important measure of its kind for forty years and it revolutionized the system of public education in this country. Its outstanding feature was that it laid down, once and for all, the principle that all children, not just a selected few, were entitled to secondary education in accordance with their age and aptitude. Since 1944, it is true, there has been a distinct shift in expert opinion regarding secondary education. At that time people still thought in terms of a "tripartite system", and supposed that children were neatly suited for a grammar school, a technical school, or a secondary modern school. It is now increasingly apparent that this was an unrealistic conception. Roughly one-quarter of the children of secondary school age are selected for education in a grammar school or technical high school, while the rest go to the secondary moderns. Controversy about the latter is steadily growing, and there are hard feelings about the notorious 11-plus examination. Hence the experiments with comprehensive schools, which may prove to be the answer in some areas, though not necessarily in all. Hence also the Government's emphasis in its recent White Paper on the need to raise standards in the secondary modern schools. There is a dangerous element in the Tory Party which relishes and seeks to encourage the development of classconsciousness through educational segregation. In the past this used to occur only, or very largely, as a result of the division between independent fee-paving schools and the rest, but it has now become generalized in the public sector. Nevertheless Butler's Act was an epoch-making measure and it must be rated the most valuable domestic achievement of the war-time Coalition Government.

Butler showed typical weakness in tackling—or rather, failing to tackle—the problem of the so-called public schools. He appointed the Fleming Committee, but failed to give effect to its recommendations, probably because he feared the political consequences of any drastic reform of those deeply emotive institutions. (For much the same reason, presumably, he has recently declined to act upon the Wolfenden Commission's advice in regard to homosexuality.) His handling of the denominational schools question was, however, masterly

After the Tory debacle in 1945 he set himself to rebuild the Party's fortunes, and he deserves much of the credit for its quick revival and return to power in 1951. But it must not be thought that he was the only progressive in the Shadow Cabinet. He was not the architect of victory in peace, as Churchill had been in war. Macmillan's pre-war record on social and economic questions was as good as any; Woolton was a liberal intellectual, as well as an organizer of genius; Churchill himself had been in the van of radicalism when Butler was in the nursery. But the myth spread, and has never been exploded, that he was the solitary champion of Tory revisionism; and Butler himself was, to say the very least, not unwilling that this myth should be propa-

In 1951 he became Chancellor of the Exchequer and he held the job for four years. He took over at a time of acute economic crisis, though in a sense he was lucky in that the tide of troubles had come

right in during the last months of the Socialists' term. Quite early in the new Government's life Butler's counter-measures were strengthening a tide which had already begun to move the other way. His counter-measures included Bank rate, a stiff Budget, and some fairly savage measures of direct import control. (Doctrinaire Tories are apt to forget that a Tory Chancellor thus used measures of physical control with more effect than the Socialists.) By the beginning of 1952 stocks were high, and during the course of the year Butler gained the equivalent of about £900 million worth of resources through improved terms of trade and a spontaneous upsurge of private saving. It was not, therefore, surprising that he had to contend with no very serious difficulties between 1952 and 1954. This period of calm and stability was however unfortunate, in that it lent credence to the view (which Butler himself appeared to endorse) that economic policy was a perfectly simple matter, provided there were no return to Socialist ideology.

DANCING DAVID

And David danced before the Lord. And at first

the candles stared with a clear amazement,

in his quickened breath

they fluttered their doubt and their surprise at this ecstatic king; and the shadows leaned

at their beckoning closer, blind to the moment

of a body in grace—and brought

only the sullen censure of their retiring to shrug into corners. Silent.

But the radiance of his eyes denied them,

and the whispered approval of his supple slippers

and the swirl of his delighted sleeves,

-O in a wing of motion rapt

from the stiff formalities of their brocade

-and his face had the sense of glory alight within-

made of his praising body

the altar, candle and jubilant choir

to a God that danced at creation.

HAROLD MORLAND.



Radio Times Hulton Picture Library

MR. BUTLER ON THE DAY HE FAILED TO BECOME PRIME MINISTER

But inflation made nonsense of this complacent dream. The root of the evil was Butler's very sound decision to stimulate productive investment. In 1953, except for a housing boom, industrial investment had been very sluggish. Butler was quite right to give it a fillip, and he has been wrong to argue, more recently, that the investment allowances which he introduced in his 1954 Budget were too strong a stimulus. His real mistake was not to realize that, if economic expansion were encouraged, it was necessary to avoid over-rapid liberalization in other fields. In this respect some grave errors were made in the financial year 1954-55, such as the scrapping of hire purchase controls and of building licensing, which gave an unwanted boost to non-productive investment. The admission of a further block of inessential imports, the decision to support the transferable rate for sterling in 1955 (which brought us perilously near to complete convertibility), and finally the further reduction of the standard rate of income tax in the 1955 Budget) brought about a renewal of inflation which proved both politically and economically disastrous. Butler had not fully appreciated that the combination of internal expansion and external liberalization were bound to cause balance of payments difficulties. But it is easy to be wise after the event, and Butler's term as Chancellor must not be dismissed as valueless because it ended in misfortune.

Macmillan succeeded him at the Treasury. and Macmillan was to be the dark horse who beat him in a photo-finish for the Premiership in January, 1957. Butler had meanwhile become Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons-a position in which his gifts of manœuvre and calculated indiscretion were given wide scope. The Suez crisis brought out the worst in him and rightly (though for the wrong reasons) led to his supersession. Whatever he may have said in public, in private he gave the impression to some that he was in favour of the Cabinet's unspeakable decision, to others that he was against it. In other words, he appeared to be trying to keep in with everybody in order to follow Eden as Leader of the Party and Had he resigned, or Prime Minister. threatened resignation, he would either have checked the drift to catastrophe, or at least have saved his own, and some of his Party's, honour. But resignation is not in his nature, and he stayed on. The bitterness of his disappointment, when the Oueen did not send for him, may have been aggravated by a sense of guilt.

But he has salvaged much from the wreck of his career. As Home Secretary he has shown the reforming zeal that he showed at the Ministry of Education, and he is already being hailed as the greatest Home Secretary of the century. It is too early, however, to attempt any assessment of the transformation which he may have accomplished in one of the most conservative of all Departments. Some of his critics maintain that there has been more talk than action, but this judgment is far from fair, as those who have been labouring for years in the cause of penal reform will bear witness. Much dead wood had to be cut away; plans had to be prepared. The statistical department, which hitherto had consisted of one harassed official, had to be enlarged; committees had to be set up to investigate iuvenile delinquency, the working of the courts, the management of prisons, and so on. No idea, however far-fetched it might appear, has been rejected. The White Paper, which will be published early in the New Year, will reveal the results of this unprecedented activity; and it is reasonable to hope that action will follow whichever Party, and whichever Minister, is in office.

THE CRYING NEED FOR PENAL REFORM

answer this question it is necessary to look once again, and more closely, at his strange temperament. He is a good administrator and he is on the whole liked by his colleagues and advisers, though his capacity for malicious and inappropriate gossip is not overlooked. He has, however, one serious administrative defect: he finds it hard to focus sharply on any major issue. seems at times to go out of his way to blunt the natural sharpness of his intellect, and on these occasions it becomes very hard to get him to decide a contested question: he sees the advantages of A, but he wants B and C as well. This flaw in his mental and moral equipment adds to the effect of deviousness and duplicity which he sometimes produces.

He is addicted to excessive self-praise

when things are going well, and to maudlin self-pity when things are going badly. In his hours of triumph he may be almost brutal-yet he is also capable of disinterested goodness and solicitude. As a potential Prime Minister he has many disqualifications, as may be seen from the events of his life. More especially it must be said that he cares too much what other people think of him: he lacks the single-mindedness and self-sufficiency which mark the born leader. Of that legendary animal, the Butskell, he is the better half; but, like Gaitskell, he is not made for national leadership. If he ever becomes Prime Minister, he will be a failure. It is more likely that he will go down in history as the best Prime Minister we were lucky never to have.

THE CRYING NEED FOR PENAL REFORM

By H. MONTGOMERY HYDE, M.P.

CRIME, as we are frequently reminded, is on the increase. In 1957, the latest year for which official figures are available, there were over 500,000 indictable offences known to the police. Although rather less than half this number of offenders was caught and dealt with under the law, the prison population reached its highest level in the same year, with over 22,000. This figure has now increased to over 25,000, of which about 4,000 are inmates of Borstal institutions. Our antiquated prisons are consequently shockingly overcrowded, so that at the present time no fewer than 4,000 prisoners are obliged to sleep three in a cell.

What can be done about this problem in the way of treatment? This question must be considered in three aspects—first, between arrest and sentence; secondly, in prison or other institutions; and thirdly, after discharge.

I. Continental penologists, with whom I have discussed this question, have expressed the opinion that in Britain an accused person has on the whole a better chance of

obtaining a fair trial than under their systems, but on the other hand, he has not necessarily such a good chance of getting a fair sentence. There is considerable truth in this view. The first time a judge sees the prisoner, who may well have been in custody for anything up to two months, is when he appears before him in the dock to stand his trial. If the trial is at assizes, sentence must be passed before the judge continues his circuit to the next assize town, and this frequently does not admit of sufficient inquiries being made about the prisoner's background. In the lower courts, particularly, there are remarkable variations in the sentences passed for the same type of offence, and although a rough and ready tariff exists in many magistrates' courts for minor offences, such as parking motor vehicles in unauthorized areas, there is a complete absence of anything approaching a uniform sentencing policy among our judiciary and benches of justices as a whole. For instance, in a recent research study of young offenders, all charged with larceny but treated differently by different courts, it was quite impossible to establish any con-



Keystone

ONE OF THE CELL BLOCKS IN THE NEW PRISON AT EVERTHORPE

sistent principle in sentencing, having regard to the personal characteristics, family background, social status and previous criminal history of the offenders.

It is only fair to add that, after a good deal of prodding in Parliament, the Government is now aware of the implications of this problem. Speaking in the Debate on the Address in the House of Commons on October 31 last year, the Home Secretary, Mr. R. A. Butler, said:

It is vital to see that the courts have at their disposal not only the sanctions but also the information necessary for the sentences to be just. This is why the Lord Chancellor and I have set up the inquiry under Mr. Justice Streatfeild to investigate the best methods of providing the courts with information so that the punishment may suit the criminal and not only the crime.

There are two vital recommendations which it is hoped that the Streatfeild Committee on the Business of the Criminal Courts will make. They have already been brought to the attention of the Committee by the Howard League for Penal Reform. The first is the setting up of remand and observation centres as soon as possible. The second is the extension of the system of Crown Courts in more or less permanent session throughout the country. If these two proposals were adopted, they would do

away with the present delays in the hearing of cases by most of the higher criminal courts, as well as with the unfortunate dilemma, which so often arises in the mind of the judge, as to whether to put a convicted prisoner back for perhaps three months so that further information can be obtained about him or her before sentence, or to pass sentence at once, or almost at once, on insufficient information.

In the case of juveniles, the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, did in fact provide for the setting up of remand centres. But so far, although ten years have elapsed, no such centre has been opened. From what the Home Secretary has stated, it seems unlikely that work will start on the first before 1960. Surely the project should be hurried forward?

It is most undesirable that some 400 young persons should be remanded every year to prison. There is a sordid glamour about imprisonment which gives the youthful offender a false sense of self-importance, and juveniles whose behaviour fits the classification of "depraved and unruly" are the last who should be allowed to regard themselves as gaol-birds. When these centres come into existence, as Sir Lionel Fox, Chairman of the Prison Commissioners has repeatedly stressed, if they are to do the work required of them, they must be not only places of safe custody but laboratories of research into the causes and treatment of juvenile delinquency, with large specialized staffs of medical, psychological and social workers. This means separate blocks and specially designed buildings, for which the funds have hitherto not been available. Nevertheless, it is important that the Home Secretary and his advisers appreciate that these remand institutions should be set up with such technical staffs as will enable them to function as observation centres as well. Such ideal institutions, for example, exist in Belgium and in the United States, notably the famous diagnostic centre at Menlo Park in New Jersey.

When the new remand and observation centres which are envisaged do come into being, it is likely that they will go beyond the intention of the Act of 1948, to provide treatment by specialized teams for all who may be sent there over the age of 17, as well as those under that age who require special observation. This assumes particular importance in view of the bulge of criminality provided by the 14-24 age group of juveniles and young adults, which is

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well indicated by Miss McCabe in her analysis in this issue of the latest official volume of criminal statistics. Speaking to the Howard League on November 5, 1957, Mr. Butler said on this point:

We greatly need the remand centres for young people provided for by the Criminal Justice Act, 1948. And with those, incidentally, I think we must associate, in adjoining but separate buildings, so that the same expert diagnostic team can serve both, similar centres for adults, so that the courts can have the benefit of a full and careful examination of all offenders about whom they need further information.

If the accused is remanded on bail by the magistrate at the preliminary hearing, it should be possible for him to be interviewed at the centre rather like an "out-patient" is at a hospital for the purpose of diagnosis. This would be particularly helpful if the accused is of the type for whom, in the event of his conviction, corrective training or some other special sentence would be Where the accused has to be remanded in custody, such centres would relieve prisons and prison staffs of the necessity of having to look after persons, many of whom may subsequently be put on probation or dealt with by other methods than imprisonment. At present there is a statutory obligation cast under the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, on all prison governors to make reports on persons eligible for special sentences like corrective training, and inevitably the governor's acquaintance with an accused must often be of the most cursory kind. This is precisely the kind of work which the new remand centres could usefully carry out to the relief of the average overworked and harassed prison governor.

Meanwhile the present position of remand prisoners is most unsatisfactory. In their latest annual report, the Prison Commissioners underline how regrettably large a proportion of the efforts of the staffs of local prisons must be diverted outside the function of training persons convicted of crime. Of all receptions of males into prisons during 1957, over 37,000 were of men not under sentence. Of these nearly 10,000 were subsequently not sentenced to imprisonment at all. They could obviously be much better dealt with at remand centres, were these in existence.

Again, nearly 70 per cent. of those under sentence were sentenced to terms of not more than six months, which allowed for little or no possibility of constructive training. As reformative treatment, such sentences are utterly useless.

At the same time, although the prison population is rising, and may well continue to rise in the next year or two to 30,000 or thereabouts, the process will to some extent be retarded by two legislative measures, which reached the Statute Book during the last session of Parliament.

One is the First Offenders Act which now confines imprisonment for first offenders by courts of summary jurisdiction to those cases where no alternative is considered suitable, imposing as it does upon magistrates the duty to state in writing their reasons for sending a first offender to prison. Its promoter, Sir George Benson, M.P., who is Chairman of the Howard League, has estimated that 2,000 fewer people should be imprisoned every year as a result of it. The other new measure is the Maintenance Orders Act, which allows courts to detach from a man's wages the amounts owing under maintenance or affiliation orders. It should likewise result in a considerable drop in the numbers annually sent to prison for failure to comply with such orders.

On the question of Crown Courts, such courts now exist in Manchester and Liverpool and, practically speaking, they are in permanent session, as also is the Central Criminal Court in London. The system should be extended so as to cover the whole country on some such basis as one Crown Court to every three million inhabitants. There is no reason why there should not be a Senior Crown Court Judge for a particular area, with Assistant Judges and Commissioners.

No one should be appointed to act as a judge in a Crown Court unless he has received some training in criminology, and this subject might well be included by the Council of Legal Education in its curriculum of lectures and in the Bar examinations. Just as no army officer can reach the higher military ranks without going through the Staff College, no senior criminal judge should be allowed to function from the bench unless he has spent some time either in a university department of criminology or in the newly created Institute of Criminology at Cambridge. It is only by such means that the all-important act of passing sentence on a convicted offender, on which so much subsequently depends, can



By courtesy of the News of the World.

THREE IN A CELL AT PENTONVILLE

receive the study and attention that it needs and deserves.

II. After the passing of the Criminal Justice Act, a new set of Prison Rules was laid down by the Prison Commissioners. One of the most important, and at the same time perhaps the most difficult to observe in practice, is Rule 29, which says:

In the control of prisoners officers should seek to influence them through their own example and leadership, and to enlist their willing co-operation; at all times the treatment of prisoners shall be such as to encourage their self-respect and sense of personal responsibility.

Considerable progress has been made in the open prisons and in some others in the achievement of this standard of service, but most of the local prisons leave much to be desired in this respect. There are still the old tensions between staff and inmates, the traditional opposition of "we" and "they". There are some prisoners with whom staff relations must always be what the Prison Commissioners euphemistically describe as those of "cautious vigilance", but these are a special problem. Prisoners are people,

and in the long run it is the human element which matters rather than rules and systems and buildings-in other words, how prisoners are treated by those with whom they are in most frequent contact, namely the prison officers. Perhaps the most important thing to remember about prison officers is that they probably spend more time behind walls than most of the prisoners in their charge. A good deal of their day, at any rate in the large local prisons, is spent in locking and unlocking doors, in marching prisoners forwards and backwards, in counting and re-counting heads. In a workshop, unlike an instructor who can work with his prisoners, the prison officer merely stands and watches, a symbol of the authority which keeps prisoners captive.

Unfortunately the ordinary prison officer is at the bottom of a strongly hierarchical service, which is permeated by the tradition of strict discipline on the old-fashioned military model. On the average, it takes him nineteen years to get his first promotion. And for nineteen years, his uniform and plain blue cap make it clear to all and sundry that he has not been promoted.

THE CRYING NEED FOR PENAL REFORM



A CELL FOR ONE AT EVERTHORPE

Keystone.

The consequences are obvious. On the one hand, potential leaders are frustrated through long waiting; on the other hand, those individuals who do eventually get promoted are sometimes promoted too late. And when that long-awaited status is at last attained, it would be surprising if there were not some individuals who felt the need to reassure themselves of their new authority from time to time.

If the regime in local prisons is to become less negative, if greater moral demands are to be made on prisoners, if serious attempts at rehabilitation are to have a good chance of succeeding, there has to be some "loosening up" of the atmosphere. As far as the inmates are concerned, a promising start has been made in some of the smaller local prisons, where prison officers are encouraged to get to know individual prisoners, their problems and their difficulties, a practice which is already current in Borstals, open institutions and training centres. The pioneer in this experiment is Norwich Prison, where all convicted prisoners now dine "in association", working hours have been increased from twenty-

six to thirty-five a week, and groups of prisoners are allocated to specific officers. This experiment has recently been followed Shrewsbury, Swansea and Oxford prisons, despite handicaps imposed by overcrowding, and it is hoped that it will be progressively extended. Time and again, it has been shown that, when a prisoner has gone straight on release, this was primarily due to a member of the prison staff with whom a good relationship had been established. If the opportunities for such relationships are increased, it should prove a most valuable step in protecting society and preventing crime. At the same time, it is equally important that the duties of prison officers should become more interesting and varied and less custodial in practice. In other words, the role of the prison officer of the future must approximate to that of the trained social worker in other fields.

Perhaps the most crying need of all is in the sphere of administration. At present the Prison Commission employs well over 7,000 people who have to look after 25,000 prisoners and Borstal inmates, whose safe custody, clothing, food, employment,

medical and psychological treatment, and spiritual needs are all organized and administered by a single central body. No regional or area organization as such exists today. Consequently, because the prison service is so rigidly centralized, many comparatively minor requests have to be referred every day to the Prison Commission by the seventy institutions under the Commission's control. Vast quantities of paper descend upon the harassed officials at Horseferry House. It is by no means unusual for several months to pass before a fairly trivial inquiry is acknowledged, and several more months before the matter is finally settled. And it is precisely the fairly trivial matters dealt with at a low level, and not always very imaginatively, that give rise to the greatest frustration.

The country's penal institutions should be so grouped that the components of each group are directly responsible to a small area office, which would have power to make independent decisions within the general policy framework laid down by the Prison Commission. Problems can be talked over much more easily if the parties are not separated by more than, say, a

couple of hours' journey by car. Some of the prisons themselves are too large to allow for the effective development of sound human relations among staff and prisoners. Places such as Wandsworth. Pentonville and Strangeways, each containing over 1,000 prisoners, make it quite impossible for the governor to get to know more than a fraction of the inmates under his charge. Indeed, he may well see more of the prisoners he is obliged to punish than of the more hopeful cases on whom he ought to concentrate. It is only fair to add that the Prison Commissioners realize this, which is no doubt why the new prison at Everthorpe Hall has been designed to accommodate only 300 prisoners. So far as the existing larger local prisons are concerned, it ought also to be possible to cut off the wings from the centre and to treat each wing more or less as a separate unit with its own governor.

If it were possible to change the structure of the prison service, with greater decentralization near the top, and relatively small units at the base, the problem of applying good management techniques would become much easier. What is known as "prison participation" would also be easier, that is the development among the prisoners of an active, instead of a merely

passive participation in the planning and management of their community life, thus helping to foster a new spirit of responsibility and self-respect.

III. In the field of after-care and supervision of discharged prisoners, the recommendations of the committee of the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders, presided over by Mr. Justice Barry, should be given legislative effect without delay. This would mean that aftercare, compulsory now for about 1,300 men released from prison every year, should be compulsory for about 10,000 men as a means of crime prevention.

Prisoners serving a second sentence of twelve months or longer, and all long-term prisoners, i.e. in for four years or more, should have priority. The Prison Commissioners consider that a second sentence is the crucial point in the career of a potential recidivist, since the second-term prisoner, although sufficiently anti-social to have been among the 25 per cent, who are not shocked into keeping out of prison after their first sentence, is still not fully " institutionalized ". It follows that the ensuing period of freedom is equally crucial. So far as long-term prisoners are concerned. whether they are recidivists or first offenders, the very length of their period in custody must present special difficulties of readjustment and rehabilitation.

Such an extension of compulsory aftercare as has been proposed would naturally throw an additional burden on the probation service, through whom the present system works. But the National Association of Probation Officers have already let it be known that its members will gladly co-operate in any way they can.

The above seem to me to be the minimum requirements in any thoroughgoing programme of penal reform. Such a "new look" in British penology was never better expressed than by Sir Winston Churchill when he was Home Secretary nearly fifty years ago:—"a constant heart-searching by all charged with the duty of punishment, a desire and eagerness to rehabilitate in the world of industry those who have paid their due in the hard coinage of punishment: tireless efforts towards the discovery of curative and regenerative processes: unfailing faith that there is a treasure, if you can only find it, in the heart of every man".

H. MONTGOMERY HYDE.

THE CRIMINAL STATISTICS FOR 1957

By SARAH F. McCABE

HOSE who are engaged on the study of crime and its prevention are wearily familiar with the criticism that their task is to give an explanation of the causes of crime, not to weave endless patterns with the figures which illustrate the changes in criminal behaviour, and the movements of public opinion, which are reflected in a certain measure by the treatment practice of the courts. Yet no-one can give a swift and convincing explanation of the causes of crime, since crime itself is a concept which is subject to change. It is a conjunction of the variable behaviour of members of the community, the varying effectiveness of the police, and the possible variations in the laws of the community. Moreover it is not yet possible to point to any one condition. or any confluence of conditions in an individual, that will lead to the breaking of the law. The non-offender would appear to be subject to the same constitutional defects and environmental difficulties as the offender, yet he does not break the law, or at least he is not found out if he does. The criminologist therefore has a great deal to learn before he teaches and his tools are few and imperfect.

The most important, though possibly the most imperfect, source of criminological knowledge is the annual volume, published by the Stationery Office, of the Criminal Statistics for England and Wales. We are familiar with its weaknesses, the probable lack of uniformity in the local figures on which the national figures are based, and the impossibility of discovering the true criminality in any place at any time. The "dark figure" of undetected crime bedevils the issue because the truly successful criminal will never be known as such. The criminologist must be content to study only the unsuccessful criminal and his knowledge, therefore is biased and incomplete. The Criminal Statistics, however, do reveal several important facts about the unsuccessful criminal and his treatment by the courts. On the basis of this knowledge a sound penal policy may be developed.

The latest volume of the Criminal Statistics for England and Wales was published only a few weeks ago. It has ten short chap-

ters and six appendices, showing the volume of crime over the years, the age-groupings of offenders and the treatment and punishment to which they were subject. There is an excellent section on the new Homicide Act, 1957, and a further development in the homicide figures so that they show for the first time the relationship between the victim and the offender. This beginning of a sociological study within the confines of the Criminal Statistics is welcome evidence of the wide scope of the work and of the interest taken by those responsible for the publication in the whole field of criminal science. Detailed tables of the dispositions of the courts, the ages and sexes of the offenders, and the types of offences committed,

complete the statistical data.

Looking first at the most reliable index of the criminal situation, the "indictable offences known to the police," we find that the total number of recorded crimes, classified as indictable offences, was 545,562, of which nearly 90 per cent. were offences against property. Not quite half of these offences were detected and dealt with by the police. With these figures we can do little more than examine their constituents and make some sort of comparison with previous years. It is usually thought to be sound to take 1951 as the basic year for comparison, first because it showed the highest known crime rate up to the present time, and secondly because there is reason to suppose that from this year at any rate, the statistics are reasonably accurate and comparable within the limits already set down. On this evidence the criminal situation in 1957 seems to give cause for alarm. The total number of indictable offences known to the police in 1951 was 524,506. This high figure shocked the public and administration alike, and investigations of one sort or another were undertaken to discover reasons for the high crime rate. In the succeeding years, however, the number of recorded offences fell and public anxiety was somewhat allayed until 1956 and 1957, when the total recorded was again more than half a

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Public alarm and the anxiety in official quarters centre round the two categories of crimes of violence against the person and sexual crimes of all sorts. The increase in recorded crime in each of these categories was about 1,500. This figure for a single year's increase is sufficiently large to demand examination. The Cambridge Department of Criminal Science recently published a survey of the amount and nature of sexual offences in England and Wales, but the pattern of sexual crime is possibly changing. Certainly the attitude of the public is being slowly influenced by informed opinion, and the matter should be kept under continuous review. In 1957, 4.8 per cent, of all persons found guilty of indictable offences, were found guilty of sexual offences, both homosexual and heterosexual. These range from the more serious crimes of rape, unnatural offences, and indecent assaults upon young male persons, to the legal offence of carnal knowledge of females under sixteen. This offence is regarded lightly in some sections of the community and is probably responsible for the rising number of sexual offences in those of fourteen to sixteen years of age. The increase in the last year amounts to 14 per cent. In addition, the share of juveniles in the total amount of sexual crime which is dealt with by the courts is increasing steadily. Now it is 21 per cent., but as recently as 1955 it was only 16 per cent. The question of the seriousness of sexual crimes recorded by the police can be examined and argued a little further by looking at the figures for sexual offences recorded by the police, cleared up by the police and finally brought before the courts. There is good reason to suspect that where crimes are of a minor character, or where special considerations prevail, the difference between crimes cleared up and crimes brought before the courts will be larger than usual. In 1957, 5.587 homosexual crimes were cleared up by the police and only 2,318 persons were prosecuted. This is probably due to the difficulty of securing evidence and proving a case. In the category of unlawful sexual intercourse with girls of under sixteen, 1,999 offences were cleared up by the police and only 607 prosecutions were brought. The explanation here is possibly that the question of responsibility is difficult to prove, and the offences are of the kind that are regarded neither by the offender, the victim, nor even by the community in which both live, as serious. One is steadily confirmed in the impression that this category of offence is due to an increase in exploratory crimes of adolescence and pre-adolescence.

There can be no doubt of the real basis for the public disquiet over the increase in crimes of violence. Since 1951 the total number of such offences recorded by the police has risen from 6,516 to 10,960. The range covered by these figures is wide, with murder and manslaughter at one end, and concealment of birth at the other. The two most common offences are felonious wounding and malicious wounding (a misdemeanour only). Together these two categories accounted for 9,589 crimes known to the police and the number of prosecutions was 7,591. This fairly close relationship between offences known to the police and offenders brought before the courts makes it possible to obtain a clearer picture of the offenders themselves. Slightly more than one-third of all found guilty are under twenty-one years of age. In 1955 the proportion was only 28 per cent. About 70 per cent, of those under twenty-one found guilty before the courts were charged with malicious wounding, an offence which legally and sociologically is less alarming than the grave and often premeditated offence of wounding and endangering life. The pattern of an adolescent population guilty of crimes of violence is clear, but it must be remembered that the quality and character of the offence is, normally, not so alarming as the offences committed by older age-groups.

Robbery with violence is quite another matter. Here the offence is grave, and the consequences often serious, and, although the numbers of those found guilty are relatively small, the increase over last year is 28 per cent. In addition, the number of offences known to the police is twice as high as the number of those found guilty, so that a great deal of harm is done that remains unaccounted for before the courts. We are not then able to say with great certainty whether any one group is more guilty than another in this regard. Among offenders brought before the courts, however, more than half are under twenty-one. This is a higher percentage than for any other kind of offence and may reflect the relative clumsiness and lack of skill of the adolescent robber; we do not know. What we do need is a study of recidivism in this category of offenders, since only then can we see whether penal and corrective measures are of any avail in dealing with this sophisticated kind of offender.

The phenomenon that calls for deepest consideration is the high rate of criminality of boys of fourteen. Since 1951 more than

THE CRIMINAL STATISTICS FOR 1957

two in every hundred boys of that age have been found guilty of an indictable offence before the courts. This acute susceptibility to delinquency does not last longer than one year, since boys of fifteen, released from school and starting to work, appear less frequently. It is for consideration whether the educational programme of secondary modern schools, overcrowded and understaffed, are perhaps geared more closely to the needs and purposes of young girls than of vigorous and increasingly strong adolescent boys. This is a situation forced upon the educational system by cramped conditions, but it is at least open to question whether, for the last year of school at least, boys should not be entirely separated from girls and given a very intense programme of work and physical education that would release some of the tremendous energy that good living conditions have so fortunately produced in young people today.

In this connection too, it is well to remember that a considerable proportion of the indictable offenders dealt with by the courts were under fourteen years of age. In 1957, 25,262 boys and girls under fourteen were found guilty and 10,030 were discharged either absolutely or conditionally. These figures do not give evidence of a crime wave but rather of a transfer to the judicial administration of many of the functions of the family. It is thought by many that the translation of the Juvenile Courts into family courts with no punitive powers would remove from the statistics of crime, and perhaps from real criminality, a proportion of those who are known today as delinquents.

Before leaving this question of delinquents and young offenders it is well to note one encouraging fact that comes out clearly in study of recent criminal statistics. Although the rate of delinquency at fourteen years of age is higher now than it ever was before and although this high rate continues until the age of about twenty-four, the generation before and after this is lower in the statistics of criminality than the years 1951 and 1952. Represented graphically this bulge of criminality gives an impression of an inflamed patch in the organs of the community that is slowly growing out of the It would seem then that living flesh. measures for the control and cure of the adolescents and young adults are of principal importance today. This remedial action should be joined to preventive social medicine for those under fourteen to ensure that they never come before the courts for offences that might more usefully be dealt with by other agencies, and that their education at home and at school is fitted to the lives they will be called upon to lead and the temptations they must face.

The great omission from the statistics of 1957, as it has been from all previous statistics, is a full and clear statement of the problem of repeated crime or rather the statistics of repeated crime. Since 1951 the Supplementary Statistics, which is a duplicated set of figures and tables available on request at the Home Office, has contained details of first offenders and recidivists for various types of offenders and different agegroups. These figures should, however, be enlarged to give statistics for offenders in individual years of age, at least up to the age of twenty. In no other way can the trend of criminality be properly traced. If possible these figures should also be incorporated in the official Blue Book, for constant reference must be made to them at every point in the study of the criminal situation. At present the picture as it is reflected in the Supplementary Statistics is of a perfectly steady rate of recidivism so that the increase in crime in various age-groups is not solely an increase of first offenders or of those who have offended before, but of both in equal proportions. The rate of recidivism for children under fourteen is 16 per cent., for young persons under seventeen it is 28 per cent., and for those under twenty-one, 38 per cent. The increase in the percentage figure reflects not an increase in repeated crime so much as an increase in the risk group from which the offenders can come. This is the great hazard in the statistics for repeated crime, the finding of a correct and vivid way of presenting figures for recidivism. It is essential to have more and more accurate material. Otherwise our work is void.

Surely the conclusions to be drawn from the 1957 statistics of crime are not wholly disquieting? A patch of crime that may be disappearing, a possible change in the private morality of young people that we may have to accept in greater or less measure, and a crop of offences of violence that is alarming at first sight but might easily be controlled, as, save in the case of robbery, it may not be serious in character—these would seem to be the constituents of the criminal situation, and with new and brave educational and judicial reforms, it may be capable of improvement.

SARAH F. MCCABE.

ANNUAL COMMONWEALTH "PARLIAMENTS"

By THE HON. PATRICK MAITLAND, M.P.

COME have likened the Final Act of the Montreal Conference to the Preamble to the first Colonial Development and Welfare Bill. It is an unimpeachable and, in many ways, historic proclamation of Commonwealth faith. At any rate on paper it carries the Commonwealth further towards a consciousness of its reality and towards a sense of the obligations that Commonwealth members owe to one another. This is the facet that most greatly stirred the Afro-Asian members; for all acknowledged that the poverty of some was the weakness of all, that the great must recognize that their selfinterest commands them to assist the weak. and that the weak in their own interest would be well advised to make external capital welcome.

All this, and many statements of agreed policy about specific matters — commodity price stabilization, the Commonwealth Consultative Economic Council, the Co-Axial Cable, to say nothing of some of the evasive passages (the Development Bank would be "studied further") — made up what might almost be called a corpus of Commonwealth

doctrine.

This is splendid — if the eleven sovereign partners which put their names to it do in fact give it substance. But as things stand there is nothing in the Commonwealth system to compel them to do so. What can anybody do, apart from back-bench pressure in national Parliaments, to make sure that these Governments stand and deliver? The Minister responsible for Commonwealth Relations at Westminster and the External Affairs Ministers elsewhere may all, when challenged from their back-benches, pass the buck to the others. They may assure their Parliaments that "consultations are still in progress". Yet there is a means to avert this danger, and one that would not infringe the sovereignty of any Commonwealth partner country, but could be used to oblige the Governments to do what they promise.

Since 1947 the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association has held a full conference every two years. For practical purposes, the Association includes nearly all Parliamentarians, whether of local legislatures like the Manx House of Keys, or the State and Provincial Parliaments of Canada

and Australia, or Members of the "Legcos" in the dependencies. The first conference, in 1947, was in London. The next was in Wellington. The third met in Ottawa, the fourth in Nairobi, and the last one in 1957 in New Delhi. The next, due in 1959, will be in Australia, probably divided between Canberra, Sydney and Melbourne.

These gatherings are enjoyable. They are invariably preceded by an extensive junket for the visitors at the expense of the host country. Those who went to New Delhi visited the Khyber Pass and Colombo, as well as various parts of India. Such junketings are informative to the visitors; they also please, even if they exhaust, the hosts.

But they have other features. There are no formal resolutions. Delegates (usually there are about fifty delegations, ranging from one or two up to ten) speak to a subject but without moving any motion. They are general subjects — for instance, defence, economics, the use of the English language. The subject which they have kept right off, as a rule, has been the one that dominates all other political issues within the Commonwealth — namely, race.

Then, again, the meetings are not open to the Press, though an account of the speeches, a kind of truncated Hansard, is published

later.

So far as it goes all this is useful; but it is not fully satisfactory. The fact that no resolutions are moved is open to objection, vet it must be realized that if there were voting, members would be able to vote on a matter for which they were in fact without responsibility. Country X might have let us all down in some way: we M.P.s from other countries might all wish to commend and even to vote a resolution which, while not condemning the miscreant, would nonetheless amount to a strong hint that it was not playing the game and should draw the conclusions. But few of us Commonwealth Parliamentarians voting for such a motion would have to stand for Parliament in the country in question and hence to face the consequences before our own electors. The same is true about suggestions that involve more money. It is easy to picture a Commonwealth country of such and such a size moving a motion that more should be pro-

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vided, when ex-hypothesi the money would have to come from the richer who might well be outvoted. And so on.

On the other hand, given commonsense, there is room for a compromise. The Conference could discuss general topics and do it at first without formal resolutions; but it could debate something formal like a document. It could debate the Final Act of Montreal. This could be formally presented on behalf of the eleven sovereign Governments that signed it; the rest of the House could support or assail its implementation, as might seem useful.

And if all meetings were open to the Press the characteristics of a real Parliamentary assembly would soon begin to appear. No doubt there would be references to delicate subjects like race, and these would get the headlines. But they also would convey the pattern of Parliamentary behaviour, and the headlines would help to awaken a still sluggish public opinion among the 660 million citizens of the Commonwealth.

But there is another drawback. These meetings, which occur every two years, lack continuity. The fact that an appointment to the delegations is rather a "perk" means that membership of them has to revolve. So there is little carry-over from one conference to the next. Hold it every year and a different picture comes into view. The delegates could and should often be the same. The Governments could form the Treasury Bench and all the rest of the

delegates could be the back-benchers and could even, if needed, form themselves into back-benchers on opposite sides. By the simple expedient of holding this Parliamentary Conference each year instead of every other year, the beginnings of a Commonwealth Parliamentary Consultative Assembly would be made.

It would be convenient if it sat always in one place; that would greatly ease organization. But the choice of the place would be invidious; and whichever it was - Colombo, or Accra, or Wellington - it would always impose hardship on some through the distance they were forced to travel or the climate to which they would be compelled to expose themselves. The conference must therefore travel around, and when it had travelled around long enough the organizers would know the ropes everywhere, so it would present no exceptional difficulty. Moreover an annual conference would probably raise the quite uneven level of the delegations. From some countries they comprise by no means the best men available; even Britain has not always sent a Cabinet Minister, though Mr. Macmillan did send Mr. Heathcoat Amory to New Delhi and Mr. Gaitskell went as his Number Two.

We need a Cabinet Minister from each country. We need the Press. We need the Conference every year. And the tone of its discussions needs to be very much less tentative.

PATRICK MAITLAND.

COAST: PRELUDE

Earthbound is a tranquil star observed by no one, Blazed spheres where water foliage stirred and grew; Perhaps a cloud still lingers and beyond our sun Time is but a promise of you, hushed you.

Again the ocean summits and wondering if a tree seems
To the surf death, if without mortals I am undisguised yet.
Lustrous silvered wave-ramblers elude poised water beams,
Outbursts of wings, their fins foreshadowing a lost ancestral net.

Seeing the infant wave rise as a broken wing, Hearing winds fall against a sky, so faintly You calling, calling, I pause until inevitably I am made mortal by prayer, the songs shells sing.

You leave the rocks; every shadow is goodbye, forbidden Blooms of affinity, forsaking the sea a green hill.

Darkness sheds the sun, and light lies hidden

Like the heart; I wait, wait with only your will.

GLORIA EVANS DAVIES.

THE NEW FACE OF U.S. **POLITICS**

By DENYS SMITH

OR yet another two years the United States Government will be divided politically, with Democrats controlling Congress and Republicans the executive branch. Early in January the President will send his messages to Congress outlining his legislative proposals with no certainty that any

of them will be accepted.

The President, it is true, has now experienced four years of Congresses controlled by the opposition and has got along with them quite well. One reason was that neither the President nor the Democratic congressional leaders were belligerent. The general political philosophy of both was similar. But this session there may well be a change. In the first place the newcomers to Congress are nearly all Democrats belonging to the liberal or Left wing who may put pressure upon the moderate leaders to act more like an opposition. In the second place the President himself became more belligerent after the election and promised to fight the spenders, " . . . and I promise this; for the next two years, the Lord sparing me, I am going to fight this as hard as I know how." This attitude may not represent the President's considered judgment. He is not a man who likes a fight for its own sake and he has a reputation for seeking harmony. Peaceful coexistence seems more likely therefore than political cold war.

This is certainly the aim of the moderate Democratic leaders who quickly saw danger in too belligerent an attitude being forced upon them by the newly elected group. They have been maintaining that the Democratic victory was due to public appreciation of the constructive and responsible role played by the Democrat-controlled Congress, with the implication that a less responsible role would cost Democrats the election

in two years' time.

In the foreign policy field the President is likely to get cooperation from the new Congress. There had been reports in the immediate aftermath of the election that Democratic members would insist on giving the orders, one of them being that Dulles must go. The Democratic Senate Leader,

Lyndon Johnson of Texas, choked off any such move by acts more than words. He accepted Dulles's invitation to present the American case for the peaceful use of outer space in the United Nations, and he agreed to visit Mexico to discuss economic cooperation with the new Mexican President. Dulles, it might be noted, has no intention of going, nor the President of dismissing him. In this period of world political tension the many evidences of party harmony on foreign

policy are reassuring.

Both American parties are in effect coalitions of similar composition. There is little difference between a Republican liberal such as Senator Cooper of Kentucky and a Democratic liberal such as Senator Douglas of Illinois, or between a Republican Rightwinger such as Senator Goldwater of Arizona and a Democratic Right-winger such as Senator Johnston of South Carolina. There are no compulsive issues dividing the parties. Even protection versus lower trade barriers has ceased to be a party matter, as more Republicans have become advocates of freer trade and more Democrats advocates of protection. That being so, it would be a mistake to assume that bigger Democratic majorities will smooth the path to lower trade barriers. Protectionist sentiment is growing among trades unions which helped elect many of the liberal Democrats. Increased imports, on the surface, might mean increased unemployment, or might increase employer opposition to wage increases which would make it harder to meet import prices.

The voters in the recent election did the same thing to both parties, that is to say reduced the power of the Right wings. In the case of the Republicans this was accomplished by defeating Right-wing members: in the case of the Democrats by electing a greater number of liberal members. Thus, quite apart from changes in the numbers of the two parties, a different political complexion has been given Congress.

During the election campaign the President veered to the Right. The newly elected Congress has veered to the Left, or at any rate is more concentrated round the moderate

THE NEW FACE OF U.S. POLITICS

centre. It remains to be seen whether the President's campaign position was a matter of misguided tactics or represents a permanent attitude. If the latter, then the chances of trouble with the new Congress are greater, particularly if, as already noted, the President takes a belligerent attitude.

The Republicans as well as the Democrats have a record to make during the next two years. Republicans often discuss unity as though it were only a matter of organization. Republicans in Congress have not acted as a united party. Some have backed the President; some have opposed him. It was noticeable that in the recent elections Republicans, who were often at odds with the President, suffered defeat in unexpected numbers and unexpected places. The outstanding Republican successes were won by those classed as modern or Eisenhower Republicans.

America, as its past political history shows goes through periods of change followed by periods of digestion. The Eisenhower Administration has in general marked a period of digestion following the New Deal changes. Some commentators believe that a new period of change is in the offing. Problems are springing up which cry loud for solution, such as the rapid population increase bringing with it urban sprawl, problems of water conservation, better roads, public transportation, education, and the Lyndon Johnson had this in mind when he said after the election, "There just won't be time for partisan bickering and petty political warfare because there are too many things to be done." He also obviously hoped that his Democrats would be kept too busy to quarrel among themselves.

There is nothing particularly wild-eyed about the new Democratic arrivals. Despite all the talk about the way organized labour helped the Democrats, only four of the newly elected members were trades unionists. The total number of trades unionists in Congress is now only eighteen, including a Republican from Wisconsin. The task of holding together the two wings of the Democratic Party should not therefore prove insuperable. It all depends upon how the party weathers the test which must come almost immediately in the Senate after the new Congress assembles. The first order of business once new senators are sworn in is the adoption of the rules. There is one rule which says that debate can only be limited by a two-thirds vote of the entire Senate membership. This has made the filibuster possible—endless talk, or the threat of it, to prevent a vote. It is a device

which the Southern Democrats have found particularly useful, but it has been used by all minority Senate groups including the extreme Left. Senator Morse, on the extreme Democratic Left, holds the current record for a longwinded speech: twenty-two hours and twenty-six minutes, made against giving offshore oil to the individual States. The most recent successful use of a filibuster threat was last summer when it was used by a liberal group to prevent passage of the Smith Bill. This had passed the House 241 to 155 and its passage seemed assured in the Senate. Its object was to strike down the principle of federal "pre-emption" on which the Supreme Court had been basing many of its decisions. The theory was that if the Federal Government entered any particular field of legislation also open to the States. the courts must assume that the Federal Government had pre-empted the whole field. One Supreme Court decision overthrew laws in forty-two States against sedition. Another prevented the States adopting food inspection laws of their own. Still others blocked laws to compel arbitration in strikes affecting hospitals, public transportation and other public facilities.

The philosophical justification for preserving the filibuster is that both majorities and minorities have rights. Neglect of the former leads to anarchy, of the latter to despotism. In the legislative branch of the American Government it might be said that the House is the embodiment of majority rights, the Senate of minority rights. Every State whatever its population has equal representation in the Senate. New York with its fifteen million and Alaska with its two hundred and fifty thousand each elects two Senators. The small States are thus protected against being swamped by the big States. Therefore it is in keeping with the genius of the Senate to allow rules which protect other minorities. Even Senators who do not carry this rationalization of the filibuster quite so far will be found praising the body as the freest deliberative assembly in the world. It therefore seems likely that any change in the rules will be moderate, probably providing that a two-thirds vote of those senators present can curtail debate. With this out of the way the two wings of the Democratic Party should be able to get along together, not weakening their position in advance of the party convention two years hence when a Presidential candidate must be picked.

DENYS SMITH



HE PRINCE CONSORT, who gave England the florin with just this end in view, would be delighted to hear that the Association of British Chambers of Commerce and the British Association for the Advancement of Science-bodies with a faint Teutonic ring-are combining to study Decimal Coinage. This is marvellous news. What with paying wages by cheque, and dispensing with endorsements, and now this, it seems that a real movement for the Abolition of clerical Slavery is at last afoot. Steeped in history and nice as our funny old twelve-and-twenty arrangement is, so puzzling to the music-hall foreigner-and accustomed to it as we all have got—there are nevertheless many underpaid beings whose lives are wasted doing the useless work of converting shillings and pence into decimals of a pound and back again. For many more it increases the mental strain of their daily work at the expense of their leisure. This is no moment for sentimentality—though the names "shilling" and "penny" should be kept at all costs, even though they no longer mean the same thing.

Many systems of decimalizing (ugh!) the coinage have been suggested, and many ways of actually introducing the new coins-done badly this would cause mountainous confusion and vast profit for spivs. The pound can be abandoned and a new unit of a hundred pence introduced: or ten shillings can be made equal to a hundred "cents"; or the pound divided into a thousand "mils". Best, however, is the proposal to divide the pound into ten florins and a hundred cents. Five cents would equal a shilling: two and a half cents a sixpence. New coins would therefore only be needed for the cent, half cent; and possibly quarter cent, now that there is to be no more inflation. The half-crown and threepenny bit would be withdrawn from circulation while the new coins were being introduced. When enough cents were in circulation, the penny and halfpenny would be withdrawn. When the entire operation is complete, florins and cents can be renamed shillings and pence.

No doubt it will be complicated; but let us press on with it before inflation makes shillings and pence worthless anyway and decimalizes the coinage for us.

NCONCERNED WITH SMALL CHANGE the Transport Commission is again having a whip-round. This time we are to put up fifteen pounds each so that they shall have another £750,000,000 to spend. If we did not have a railway system, would we now instal one?

I have been reading "Hints for Station Announcers" issued by the Transport Commission: "It is not generally realized that a microphone not only reproduces the voice but will faithfully convey the feeling and sincerity which an announcer cares to put into the announcement. Announcements should be made as you would make them to a personal friend whom you are sincerely anxious to assist". Why not do away with announcers at terminus stations altogether? They just add to the escaping steam. No traveller stands about, waiting for a voice from the arches to tell him what to do: he goes and looks at the departure board, or asks a porter (or a midshipman. as I used to find). And as we are at it, what about those officials at the entrance to the downward escalators on the Underground. who punch your ticket if both you and they feel like it? If it is optional, it is unnecessary -which it is, as there is a keeper at every exit from the burrow anyway.

I believe a cloud of snipers hanging on the flanks of the Transport Commission could pick off an extravagance or two. Such things are trivial—but they are obvious; and consequently they lose the Commission much goodwill.

NATIONAL TRANSPORT MUSEUM of some sort, however, we should have. I warmly support the proposal to form one. Like many fantasies, it will probably pay. Everybody knows that existing museums are disgracefully short of money, and cannot even afford enough staff, let alone fresh acquisitions. Surely this is no time to add to their number-to cut this tiny cake into more and smaller slices? But a Transport Museum (like anything anybody is in favour of) is a rather special case. First, the objects it would acquire are mainly large-too large for private individuals to house; if not acquired soon they will vanish. Secondly, the public interest in the subject is so great

(due, no doubt, to the increasing difficulty of getting about) that it would be possible to charge for admission. People will only look at old masters free—as every foreign gallery knows. Lord Montagu has proved at Beaulieu that this does not apply to old cars. Moreover the Science Müseum, which is the most comparable institution, already tops the list of admissions with well over a million visitors a year. Thrice as many as the Duke of Bedford—impressive thought.

Thirdly, a Transport Museum would provide education where it is badly needed. Museums are not just expensive dumping places for the wrack of time, the boxrooms of history; they are many-sided, unbiassed, painless teachers. They should be a pair of wings, not a ball and chain. Transport was to the first Industrial Revolution what electronics is to the second: it is as well our children should study it.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION industrial architecture, the history of engineering-and Victorian architecture are daily engaging more attention. Can nothing be done to preserve the Coal Exchange, by London Bridge in Lower Thames Street now threatened with demolition? Circular. galleried, original, adventurous, it looks like what it is-a pagan temple of the nineteenth century. Coal was then to the body what the word of the Lord is to the soul. Luckily it appears there may be a pagan temple of the first century underneath it. The public is much more interested in Mithras, and this may save the building. Meanwhile as many people as possible should visit the Coal Exchange. You just walk in. Its designmainly in cast iron—is unlike anything else, and its craftsmanship is truly Victorianthat is to say, beyond praise. And what a marvellous thing Coal must have been to Exchange.

AXMINSTER.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor, National and English Review

THE CHALLENGE

From Mr. Morris Gershlick

SIR.

In your very vigorous December editorial you referred to Christ as a "Jewish fundamentalist, full of sound and fury, and basing his morality upon the threats of penalties,

or the promise of rewards". Now this might be a "fairish" description of the Judaistic (in distinction to the Jewish) outlook on what should be the compelling force of society; but stated as briefly as that it certainly makes Judaism appear objectionable. Analogously speaking, it might well be said that the Conservative Party bases its philosophy, too, on the principles of penalties and rewards. This also would be true, but does this necessarily discredit Conservatism as being an uncivilized and objectionable philosophy? I know it was not your intention to present Jewish fundamentalism as a reactionary and barbaric force, but your (unavoidably) brief reference to it in the terms that you did might well influence people into thinking of it as a force standing opposite to the Christian concepts of charity and brotherly love.

I do not want to take up too much of your space with a defence of Judaism, or with a criticism of Christianity. Briefly (and I want to be brief) I think it is possible to recognize Christ as one of the greatest spiritual leaders of all time, and to recognize the nobility of the Christian ethic: and vet to realize, as you say, that Christianity abounds in many contradictions. On top of which, I would say that Christianity is completely unrealistic insofar as it asks people to return good for evil, a proposition hopelessly beyond the capabilities of man. (In fact, whether this would even be a desirable state of affairs is arguable, as it would mean vetoing the power of indignation.)

Regarding Judaism, it embodies within the Ten Commandments every moral precept worth having and the moral remonstrances of the Old Testament Prophets are gems of humanity. Its great "crime", however, in your eyes, and in the eyes of many, is that it does not exhort people to goodness but demands it of them. But if this is wrong, then so is Conservatism wrong: for Conservatives believe that by and large the good of man can only effectively come through legislation (which implies demands and penalties) and not through appealing to people's moral feelings. In this I liken Judaism to Conservatism and the Utopian dream of Socialism to Christianity.

> Yours faithfully, Morris Gershlick.

22 Cranley Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.



books



GENERAL

SAINT OF NATIONALISM

Mahatma Gandhi. By B. R. Nanda. George Allen & Unwin. 35s.

URING the last War I remember hearing it said by one of my father's acquaintances, who had held high office in India, that there could be no solution of the Indian problem so long as Gandhi was alive, because he was an implacable enemy of the British. This, as is now apparent from published documents, was by no means an isolated view. Yet it is most unlikely that an alien imperial power has ever had to deal with a more patient and sympatheticor a more reluctant-rebel than Gandhi. He loved the British anyway because they were human, and he was a lover of humanity. But he also loved them for what he conceived to be their peculiar virtues,



GANDHI AS A YOUNG LAW STUDENT IN LONDON

and he was very slow indeed to abandon his belief that they would voluntarily share with Indians the liberty which they had won for themselves in time gone by. Even when he had decided that the "system" must go, that there was no hope of justice for the Indian people under the Raj, he did not harden his heart against the British, either individually or collectively. That successive British Governments failed to recognize in this man the providential leader of his country, and the best fitted to negotiate and decide the future of independent India, is a grave reproach to all concerned.

Yet Mr. Nanda is justified in claiming that the eventual transfer of power in 1947, insofar as it was performed in a friendly and idealistic spirit, owed much to Gandhi's influence. "In retrospect, it would seem that the three major Satyagraha [passive resistance] campaigns in 1920-22, 1930-32 and 1940-42 were so well spaced that they gave time for second thoughts and for that conversion of the British conscience which was Gandhi's ultimate aim". Whatever this may mean (and there is room for doubt about the "conversion of the British conscience"), it is quite certain that Gandhi's methods were right and that without him India and Britain would not have parted company as friends. He was unable to prevent the partition of his country or the terrible and violent upheaval which this entailed; but he fought tirelessly against the evils of communalism and he died a martyr for his own cause. His death was the most potent of all his political actions, since "the very wickedness of the crime exposed, as if in a flash of lightning, the fatuity and futility of communal fanaticism".

He was aware that the peaceful methods which he employed, first in South Africa, then in India, presupposed the existence of a government paying rather more than lipservice to the higher standards of civiliza-Though he overrated his power to tion. convert British officialdom and public opinion, his psychological approach to the struggle for Indian rights was essentially sound. He was wise to insist that self-rule must be deserved, not merely won by clamouring for it, least of all by the use of violence. By his own precepts and example he gave his people that self-respect which has made their self-government so notably successful. He was also wise to perceive that the British, though their role in India was despotic, were not altogether happy about being despots. "Even under the most adverse

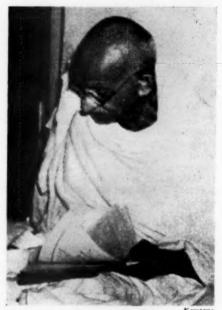
SAINT OF NATIONALISM

circumstances", he wrote in 1920, "I have found Englishmen amenable to reason and persuasion, and as they always wish to appear just, it is easier to shame them than others into doing the right thing." It was not, in fact, so easy as he then thought, but even a Willingdon or a Linlithgow was an angel compared with a Hitler or a Stalin. The judge who sent Gandhi to prison in 1922 addressed him with deep personal appreciation: - ". . . it would be impossible to ignore the fact that in the eyes of millions of your countrymen you are a great patriot and a great leader. Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals and of noble and even saintly life."

Such words would not have been uttered by the agent of a totally unprincipled government or the exponent of a brutal and inhuman legal code. Gandhi's faith in the best traditions of his opponents never wavered. In 1934 he wrote to Jawaharlal Nehru, who was indignant that he had called off the civil disobedience campaign: - "Let me assure you that you have not lost a comrade in me. . . . I want complete independence for the country in the full English sense of the term' (my italics). This phrase, occurring in Gandhi's private correspondence with a close colleague and disciple, is perhaps the subtlest compliment that has ever been paid to that part of England which the Jingoes are unable to understand and persistently betray.

It is now beginning to be possible to take Gandhi's measure as a statesman, and Mr. Nanda has made a creditable attempt, which includes—as Gandhi himself would have wished—some frank criticism. But it will be many years, perhaps centuries, before his stature as a religious leader can be seen in the right perspective. Mr. Nanda very truly asserts that Gandhi was first and foremost a religious man: he was a saint who happened also to be a nationalist, not a nationalist who happened also to have some saintly qualities.

But for the intolerable narrowness of doctrinaire Christianity he might well have become an avowed Christian, because it is clear that the decisive spiritual influence in his life was the Sermon on the Mount. As it was, he did his best to reinterpret Hinduism in Christian terms, while showing himself the brother of all godly and charitable men. In matters of faith and morals his integrity was absolute. When his wife protested against the arrival of an "untouch-



MAHATMA GANDHI IN 1947

able" family at his Ashram (settlement) near Ahmedabad, he issued an ultimatum: she must either conquer her prejudice or leave the Ashram. "With an effort of will she accepted the untouchable family as her own"—and the same effort is now being made, through legislation and individual striving, by the entire Hindu community.

Like other profoundly religious men who have not refrained from political activity, his behaviour was apt to baffle more mundane observers, and his motives were sometimes called in question. But anyone who could comprehend the mystical temperament never doubted his sincerity. For instance, a Baptist minister, who met Gandhi in South Africa in 1907, has left the following impression of him: - "Our Indian friend lives on a higher plane than most men do. actions . . . are often counted eccentric, and not infrequently misunderstood. Those who do not know him think there is some unworthy motive behind, some Oriental 'slimness' to account for such profound unworldliness. But those who know him well are ashamed of themselves in his presence".

Frank Moraes has described Gandhi as "the greatest man India has known since the Buddha". I think it probable that he will come to be regarded as the greatest human being since Christ.

ALTRINCHAM.

THE OUAKERS UNMASKED

THE QUAKERS: A New Look at Their Place in Society. By John Sykes. Allan Wingate. 21s.

N historically sensitive person might give a passing thought to the Ouakers whenever he served on a jury, visited a mental hospital or a prison, bought a bar of chocolate or cashed a cheque. That sensitivity of this sort would nowadays be thought abnormal is partly due to the relaxation of the grip on the English conscience and sensibility which was once held by the Quakers, and by the other "classical" dissenters who shared many of their origins and attitudes.

The work of Elizabeth Fry is well enough known. So is the enlightened, if paternalist, profit-sharing of the great chocolate manufacturers. So is the story of the 1670 jury's resistance to a Recorder's effort to make them convict William Penn. Perhaps it is less generally appreciated that two of the Big Five banks-Lloyds and Barclays-are Quaker foundations; and that the York Retreat, founded in 1796, was the country's first mental hospital. (It still exists, though other voices are leading the criticism of British mental health services which is now gathering strength, and which is as overdue in its way as the Retreat was in the eighteenth century.)

All this needs to be recalled before the real failures of the Quakers can be properly assessed. In this book Mr. John Sykes has done a good job, both of recollection and reassessment. It makes a useful companion to Daniel Jenkins's Congregationalism-would that other denomina-

tions would follow suit.

In the Puritan ferment from which they arose. Ouakers were often confused with the radical Levellers and Diggers, and sometimes with even more dangerous gentry, as in a 1654 pamphlet pleasantly titled:

"The Quakers Unmasked, and clearly detected to be but the Spawn of Romish Frogs, Jesuites and Franciscan Fryers (sic), sent from Rome to seduce the intoxicated giddyheaded English Nation."

There was excuse for alarm. Although almost all non-violent and non-subversive, Quakers were of lowlier origin than the Commonwealth squirearchy, and Cromwell, guiltily conscious of compromises with his own faith forced on him by his supreme power, found them hard to tolerate, though he tried hard to mitigate the excesses of his subordinates.

But persecution had stopped by 1689, and subsequent Quaker history, both here and in America, is saddening. The onset of respectability and financial comfort was extraordinarily rapid, accelerated by their very virtues of thrift, consideration and honesty. Their word was their bond-and how well it paid them! Nor were they immune from the winds which blew on organized religion in succeeding centuries. The placid deism of the eighteenth century, succeeded by the narrow evangelicalism fashionable in the nineteenth, checked their expansion and removed the radicalism from their social influence, leaving only the philanthropy. Abolitionists and protectionists spoke for long in vain to their business hard-heads.

Only here and there a still, small voicelike John Woolman's - betrayed lingering spiritual depth in a few "meetings for worship". (Mr. Sykes is admirable on Quaker worship, a contemplative technique rare in these latitudes, yet in no sense Eastern. Quakers were among the first to recognise the ministry of women.)

When the 1914-18 war brought the first real challenge to the Ouaker Peace Testimony, it disclosed unsuspected strength. Friends fought hard for a conscientious objection clause in the Conscription Act, refusing the special treatment which was offered them. Those in both wars who did not join the Friends Ambulance Unit (itself open to all denominations) mostly went to gaol, for the judgements of the early C.O. Tribunals (and of some contemporary ones) were as reactionary as their initial establishment was liberal.

But the revival of primitive Quaker virtues has not really endured, though it stimulated the relief services at home and abroad for which Friends are now best known. In the first World War, 71 conscientious objectors died of their treatment in English prisons. The War, in fact, emphasized a streak of callousness in the English character which has stood out ever since, and the numerical strength of all Christian bodies has suffered in consequence. Quakers, very many of whom are anti-theological and possess an indefinable quality of stuffiness peculiar to their own excessively inbred community, have found it easier to makedo-and-mend than to re-think. Mr. Sykes's very radical proposal to close fee-paying

A HIGHER CHARACTER

Quaker schools is unlikely to be well received in their Banker's Georgian fortress down the Euston Road.

The literary style of this book—and the quality of the illustrations—falls off badly as the story is brought up to the present day. (The F.A.U., had it been asked, could have produced better relief work pictures than this.) There has also been some very care!ess proof-reading, and the lack of an index is deplorable. But these are minor blemishes on an always readable and often acute analysis of a Christian society whose actions are generally respected, but whose springs of action are commonly ignored.

CHRISTOPHER DRIVER.

A HIGHER CHARACTER

DAVID GARRICK. By Carola Oman. Hodder & Stoughton, 42s.

Boswell and Johnson. By Hesketh Pearson. Heinemann. 21s.

SAINT-SIMON AT VERSAILLES. Translated by Lucy Norton. Hamish Hamilton. 30s.

THE KING'S WAR. By C. V. Wedgwood. Collins. 35s.

MANI. By Patrick Leigh Fermor. John Murray. 18s.

THE LOST WORLD OF THE KALAHARI. By Laurens van der Post. Hogarth. 18s.

CLIMBING THE FISH'S TAIL. By Wilfrid Noyce. Heinemann. 18s.

COLLINS GUIDE TO ENGLISH PARISHES. Edited by John Betjeman. *Collins*. 30s. THE OBSERVER PLAYS. *Faber*. 42s.

JOHN BETJEMAN'S COLLECTED POEMS. Compiled by Lord Birkenhead. Murray. 15s.

T was Dr. Johnson, an old friend, who said that David Garrick had "made the player a higher character". Johnson added that "If all this had happened to me, I should have had a couple of fellows with long poles walking before me to knock down anybody that stood in the way." He was right, for by any standards Garrick's swift advance to supremacy on the English stage was remarkable. The son of an army officer, and one of Johnson's few pupils, he came to London with his master and shot to stardom with incredible rapidity. He also became a well known social figure, a competent dramatist and a wit who could throw off amusing verses to suit the occasion.

Curiously enough until now no accomplished biographer seems to have thought of David Garrick as a subject. It is exactly a hundred years since Fitzgerald wrote what has remained the standard life and a representative biography was long overdue before Miss Oman, the biographer of Nelson and Sir John Moore, had the happy idea of turning her attention to a character very sympathetic to her and to a period which has given her opportunities for dramatic and historical treatment at which she excels.

The chorus of praise which accompanied Garrick through his stage career may be said to have been started by Pope, who seeing him as Richard III, remarked, "That young man never had his equal and never will have a rival." It is this kind of statement that makes one long for a talking film. How fascinating it would be to compare Garrick in this rôle with Olivier. Stage fashions change so much that what passes for fine dramatic playing with one generation is probably dismissed as "rant" by the next. No-one, however, could have the slightest hesitation in characterizing Garrick as a man of extraordinary talent. He had not the advantage of height or a majestic presence. (Neither has Olivier.) He was a volatile, high-spirited person, a marvellous mimic who enjoyed nothing more than delighting his friends and their children with brilliant impersonations of people known to them. The Burney children went off into gales of laughter as Garrick called out, in the manner of Dr. Johnson requesting a drink, "Who's for Poonsh?"

Miss Oman has done admirably in bringing out so clearly the manysidedness and the essential humanity of the man, his love of children, his wonderfully happy married life, his tremendous popularity with all kinds of people, his numerous changes of residence, his ability to find the right phrase for an occasion as when he said of Oliver Goldsmith, "who wrote like an angel, but talked like poor Poll", or on the day of his retirement, in a Prologue, "A fellow feeling makes one wondrous kind."

There is still a book to be written about Garrick's work for and on the stage but in the meantime Miss Oman is to be congratulated on a most valuable and entertaining piece of work. This is a delightful book, worthy to be added to the remarkable library of memorable books written then and now about the later eighteenth century, that treasure house of wit and wisdom.

Garrick is handsomely treated by Mr. Hesketh Pearson in his neat double biography,

Johnson & Boswell. Mr. Pearson has an eye for drama and effective incident. He sticks firmly to the matter in hand, keeps himself and his opinions tactfully in the background, and is content to work on available material. The newly published volumes of Boswelliana have been a considerable help to him in his new book. People who are intimidated by the length of Boswell's Life of Johnson, by Johnson's own writings, and by the journals of Boswell, will find in this book a kind of "Johnson-Boswell Without Tears". It is a useful, readable and thoroughly enjoyable compilation.

The Duc de Saint-Simon was an even greater snob than Boswell, and like the Scot he believed implicitly in the rightness of his own opinions and in his judgments of others. He would write with perfect confidence of Louis XIV that "The King's intelligence was below the average, but was very capable of improvement". His estimate of the King's life and character is as shrewd as can be, and his unrivalled opportunities at courf or obtaining first-hand information enabled him to paint a picture of the Sun King and his entourage which has never been surpassed.

In Saint-Simon at Versailles Miss Lucy Norton has compiled a 300-page book

BRITAIN'S DISCOVERY OF RUSSIA 1553-1815

M. S. Anderson

'The book is a rewarding and admirable one.'—The Scotsman. It provides a historical background hitherto lacking for the study of Anglo-Russian relations.

THE PATHANS

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Sir Olaf Caroe

'A truly monumental history of the Pathans from the earliest period to the present day, in a splendidly produced volume.'—ERIC NEWBY (Sunday Times). 'A sound piece of historical research; but in addition, there is plenty of colour and romance and much hard fighting.'—The Times.

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MACMILLAN_

from the 2,854 pages of small handwriting which Saint-Simon left behind him. Her translation is direct and very clear. Miss Nancy Mitford's Preface is worthy of this entertaining and informative book.

The second instalment of Miss Wedgwood's The Great Rebellion is entitled The King's War, 1641-1647, and it maintains the fine narrative flow of its predecessor, The King's Peace. It covers the five years in the reign of Charles I, from the attempt on the Five Members in January, 1642, to the handing over of the captive King by the Scots to the English in January, 1647. Perhaps the estimate of Cromwell lacks a little the distinction that one might expect, though his energy and initiative are stressed. Otherwise, Miss Wedgwood maintains her high standard of writing, but not perhaps her power to interest consistently.

Mr. Leigh Fermor has written only four books in all and great though the praise for them has been I do not think that it is commensurate with his remarkable ability. In particular his last book before Mani, A Time To Keep Silence has qualities of thoughtfulness and repose that are extraordinary for the times in which we live. In my opinion Mr. Leigh Fermor's reputation in the future will be considerably higher even than it is

at present.

Mani is also a delight to read. The author intended it before he began to write as a single chapter among many, each of them describing the stages of a leisurely journey (in fact a recapitulation of many journeys) through continental Greece and the islands. Setting out from Constantinople, and then moving westwards through Thrace and Macedonia, south through the Pindus mountains, branching west into Epirus and east into Thessaly, then south to the provinces that lie along the northern shore of the Gulf of Corinth, then eastwards through Boeotia and Attica to Athens. Later came the Peloponnese, the islands and archipelagos scattered over the Greek seas, "the eastern outpost of Cyprus and the southernmost giant of Crete.'

Mani, then, is to be the first of a series on the least frequented regions of Greece. Mr. Leigh Fermor sets out to describe present-day Greeks of the mountains and islands in relationship to their habitat and their history. The present book cannot be considered as a whole. It is, rather, an auspicious beginning to a most important and rewarding venture. This is not an example of the kind of book, so common today,

A HIGHER CHARACTER

written by an author who wants to take a trip abroad and arranges with his publisher to get an advance that will pay for it. Mr. Leigh Fermor is in thrall to a country and a people. Time is no object with him. His aim is to show them as they really are in the eyes of an informed foreign admirer. In Mani it seems to me that he has succeeded so that one looks forward without reserve to what seems likely to become one of the most impressive series of travel books in English.

A publishing month which also sees the appearance of The Lost World of the Kalahari can fairly be called memorable. Mr. van der Post is also a writer of remarkable accomplishment and his new book about the aboriginal inhabitants of Africa is the result of an expedition he led in 1957 over the Kalahari in search of the Bushmen, the aboriginal inhabitants. It can be ranked with his excellent Venture to the Interior. The author does not give a conventional account of a hazardous expedition, He describes in some detail human fallibilities that threatened to wreck it. I have an idea that Sir Vivian Fuchs might not approve of Mr. van der Post's method. I found it fascinating, and if there are any better travel books than Mani and The Lost World of the Kalahari published in 1959 it will indeed be a vintage vear for this literary form.

Mr. Wilfrid Noyce's Climbing the Fish's Tail, a record of the 1957 Himalayan expedition which reached within 150 feet of the 22,958 foot Nepalese mountain, Machapuchare, is worthy to rank with his brilliant South Col which must be read by anyone interested in the conquest of Everest.

Machapuchare is a "sacred" mountain. The Fish's Tail, which is the English equivalent for it, is in the author's opinion the most spectacular, the most beautiful and the most difficult peak he has ever tried to climb. A blinding snow storm and four or five columns of blue ice, "like the claws of some great dragon," defeated the climbers.

Mr. Noyce has not wasted space on his account of the trip, but like everything else he has written about mountain climbing it should be read. He can convey to the reader what it feels like to live and work in the high places of the world.

Collins Guide to English Parish Churches mentions four thousand of them. It cannot be called comprehensive because, although it is admittedly a "selective list", an appreciable number of churches worth mentioning have been omitted. The editor, Mr. Betjeman, cannot be blamed, neither can the publishers, but the work could easily and profitably be reprinted in a new edition of two volumes so that the more notable exclusions could be remedied.

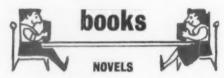
In fact Mr. Betjeman asks for information so that the Guide may be improved if another edition is called for. It is well worth buying in its present form. The various experts responsible for the different counties have done their work very well indeed, though the book could be more fully dated with advantage. The illustrations are very much to the point and well produced. This is a book to keep, if only for the introduction.

The enterprise of the Observer's former dramatic critic was responsible for the Observer Plays, an interesting collection of the winning entries in the competition which was won by the West Indian piece by Mr. Errol John, Moon on a Rainbow Shawl. The other plays printed are mostly faithful to the fashion of the moment which is far too much inclined to ignore action and form. Consciously or not numerous young dramatists have followed the thoroughly bad example set by Bernard Shaw in his later plays when he seemed content to subject his audiences to prolonged and yawn-making debates, of which On The Rocks presented one of the most formidable examples; but Shaw could write dialogue, could and usually did write strikingly clear, nervous English however muddled his thought processes might be. A few of the contemporary Irishmen, Behan and Beckett among them, have some of Shaw's good qualities, but how very rarely is it possible for a play to succeed without action, and it is a lack of relevant action which seems to be the great need of the theatre in this country today.

It is not often that an author appears twice in the course of a comprehensive review but it would be impossible to ignore the appearance of John Betjeman's Collected Poems. They are described as being "compiled, with an Introduction by Lord Birkenhead." It seems only a short time ago that a book of Mr. Betjeman's verse came out "selected by Mr. John Sparrow." Both these excellent critics have done their work very well indeed. and Lord Birkenhead was right to print a remark made to him many years ago by the Warden of Wadham. "Betjeman," said Sir Maurice Bowra, "has a mind of extraordinary originality; there is no one else remotely like him.'

Place (often suburbia or the rural-urban districts), conventional youth seen through nostalgic eyes, churches, and occasionally religion, are his stock in trade. He has a genius for presenting the odd and unexpected, as in the elegiac lines to Walter Ramsden, the great obituarist, but it is unfair to particularize when reviewing the work of a "mind of extraordinary originality." It is easier to admire and praise it and to note, in passing, the deep streak of morbidity graven across it. Lord Birkenhead has made an apt comparison with Dr. Johnson here.

ERIC GILLETT.



Position at Noon. By Eric Linklater. Cape. 15s.

ASK ME No More. By Pamela Frankau. Heinemann. 16s.

LOVE AND THE LOVELESS. By Henry Williamson. Macdonald 16s.

THE AVENUE GOES TO WAR. By R. F. Delderfield. Hodder & Stoughton. 18s.

OF AGE AND INNOCENCE. By George Lamming. Michael Joseph. 21s.

SATURDAY NIGHT AND SUNDAY MORNING. By Alan Sillitoe. W. H. Allen. 13s. 6d.

PILLAR OF CLOUD. By Jackson Burgess. Deutsch. 15s.

A FOREIGN AFFAIR. By Andrew Graham. Macmillan, 15s.

FLOWERS FOR MRS. HARRIS. By Paul Gallico, Michael Joseph. 7s. 6d.

SATIRE, philosophy, spicy humour and history adapted to his needs: this mixture, in melodious prose, is what Eric Linklater generously offers us in a frolic entitled Position at Noon. An antique dealer faced with bankruptcy, with but one use for his mistress and (her money having gone) scarcely that for his wife, briefly tells the story of each of his male forbears, back to the family's foundling founder in the eighteenth century; seeking thus to discover heredity's responsibility for himself, including his capricious capacity to take action. Thus we have half a dozen delightful

vignettes — Victorian Empire-building, friendship with Wordsworth, disaster at Bunker Hill, promotion to the peerage through the baize door. The only discomfort is caused by the book's progress from son to father; a logical enough arrangement but one that makes some demand on one's memory—a demand weighted by the strong temptation to gallop through each chapter. I hope that one day we shall hear how the narrator makes out in his new life in Texas.

Pamela Frankau is armed cap-à-pie, so efficient a novelist that there is, I suspect, a tendency among critics to underrate her distinction and talent. Hers not to try to mirror the age, or to pose and probe profound social problems. She is well content to create characters belonging to their times. Making them much more than puppets, she contrives fascinating stories out of their almost spontaneous interplay. She moves easily from comedy to tragedy, her observation witty but not uncharitable, her judgements impartial but not inhuman. These qualities are displayed in Ask Me No More: a story of two women (Alix, of notable capacity and integrity; Perdita, selfish, shallow, beautiful) whose lives are linked by two men-first Geoffrey Bliss, brilliant writer of comedies, perpetual noceur, incorrigible liar; and then, after Geoffrey has vanished at the war's end from the book. the ineffable young Ludo, victim of his obvious heredity. There are many subordinate supporting characters, and none that rings false, in a book which triumphantly surmounts the obstacle of its two-part construction, and gently turns tragedy into consolation.

There are two obstacles to easy understanding of Henry Williamson's latest novel. It is a continuation of the story of young Maddison which began six books ago; and (which matters more) its setting is France and England around the 1917 tragedy of Chemin des Dames and the Ypres fighting that followed. The reader who has not reached his sixties is confronted by attitudes of mind which he can scarcely grasp. On the other hand the author is astonishingly skilful in recalling the past and in establishing and developing his central character: a young veteran on whom the war has laid a crushing burden, at times generating a sense of personal guilt, and in general made tolerable only by comradeship and whisky and discovery of the power of poetry. (Is that a trinity likelier to be

met in the First than the Second War?). Needless to say, Love and the Loveless is admirably written. It is a story of character under stress, and whatever the difficulty that it may present, is very well worth reading.

There is nothing obscure or even subtle about The Avenue Goes to War. True, it is a sequel, but R. F. Delderfield is at pains to summarize (and it is significant that he can do so easily enough) what the previous book told us about each of the very numerous suburban characters whom it introduced. Now we follow their war-time fortunes, through battle and blitz, through A.R.P. or black market, glory and disgrace, love and death, shells at Dieppe, bombs on the Avenue, adventure on land, sea and in the air-it is all here, not forgetting G.I.'s and European exiles. At the end there are inevitable gaps in the ranks of characters and houses but also a great deal of rather too neat pairing off and smoothing away. This is in keeping with the trend of an objective book ambitious in the size of its cast and its recollection of the familiar, and sweeping the reader along by persistently caring for detail whilst eschewing any effort to go far below the surface of character or conduct.

Obscurity if carried too far defeats the purpose of a novel-to be read. Lamming comes precious near this in Of Age and Innocence, at any rate as far as the British reader is concerned. He is himself a West Indian, with a passion for words and a good deal of the poet in him, and his scene is natural to him. To it come two European pairs, encountering on the way a coloured revivalist whose path they are to cross again: San Cristobal is seething with political and religious fury. Exactly what happens is not easy to grasp, except that there is a good deal of violence, and that confusion is added by the doings of a gang of boys. Maybe the author's countrymen will understand it all easily enough, or maybe in years to come its idiom will be normal in Britain; meanwhile we have mainly to be content with some fine pieces of description and a general awareness of emotions.

I am bound to say that I also found Saturday Night and Sunday Morning hard to read, but for another reason, that its subject and its main character nauseated me. As its blurb claims, it is "frank and vigorous" but I do not believe that its

"hero typifies modern youth". This twentytwo-year-old factory hand earns good money-all the good I found about him. He is a tough bully who spends his money on clothes and drink and sleeps freely with wives-usually the unattractive wife of a fellow-worker who is on night-shift. It is something that two husbands combine to beat him up, it is perhaps more that the squalid story ends with a suggestion that he will now marry and settle down. prepared to accept characters and incidents as realistic, even as typical of Nottingham, hard as that is to believe: but I do not consider that they are more than that-or that Alan Sillitoe manages to "explain the vounger generation to a bewildered public". I deem it better to ignore the blurb and regard the book as stone-turning in a grubinfested garden.

There is a deceptive air of simplicity about *Pillar of Cloud*. There are many of the conventional features of the "Western" in its relation of the adventures of a small mixed group (including Quakers) who set out from Kansas City (mid-nineteenth century) for the new lands in the

MARQUAND

Women and Thomas Harrow

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BOOK SOCIETY CHOICE

January 19

16s

George Washington MARCUS CUNLIFFE

A new biography, by a senior lecturer in history at Manchester University, that cuts through the legend to reveal the real man.

January 19

18s

Collins

west, taking a more direct and therefore perilous route than the Santa Fé trail. The story of the arduous journey is realistic and interesting: but side by side with it runs that of the developing quarrel between the highmettled McVey (friend of the narrator, who is a young lawyer driven west by desire to escape the growing controversy over slavery) and Drum, the professional guide, whom McVev believes to be less concerned to conduct the party than to discover a new The psychology of the two men is handled with quiet assurance. The end is tragic, but leaves the reader's withers unwrung since Jackson Burgess, admirably as he evokes era, scene and characters, does so on an intellectual, not an emotional, plane.

It is not easy to classify A Foreign Affair; a Ruritania-cum-Mandate story touched with satire and fancy. There is a crisis in the affairs of the now independent kingdom of Parasang (half of a Pacific island) because the other half (Republic, now controlled by a dictator) is greedy for its mineral wealth. How fortunate that the British Ambassador, elderly, elegant and steeped in Oriental lore, is so friendly with the Queen Mother. For the trouble is finally overcome by the old lady's magical powers (dictator into bullfrog); a consummation not reached till we have been treated to some amusing glimpses of Parasang life - particularly its British colony's. The moral of this lighthearted but not empty tale is, I suppose, that when you deal with a Royal Family of divine descent, anything may happen.

This year's offering from Paul Gallico is of course and beyond question a fairy story. Thanks to the Pools and economy a London charlady treats herself to a trip to Paris to buy a Dior creation. In Paris she and her uncertain Cockney accent are irresistible. She proves a fairy godmother, spreading happiness and winning all Dior hearts. So when she comes home again with her 400guinea model, and one of the six Belgravia ladies whose housework she manages to do, borrows the frock and burns a hole in it, she is consoled not just by realization that she would never herself have worn it anyhow, but also by six or seven superb bouquets flown over from Paris, and the thought that the spoilt dress is a "precious memory of understanding, friendship and humanity". So there it is. You must either wallow in the Gallico whimsey or-well, it's "or" for me.

MILWARD KENNEDY.



Orchestral

HE great event, in this section, is the issue of the first of two volumes of Haydn's twelve "Salomon", or English Symphonies (Nos. 93-104) in which Sir Thomas Beecham conducts the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra (H.M.V. ALP 1624-6). In composing these works Haydn said he felt that "a good deal must be altered to suit the English taste," and their cool reception of the one less good symphony in the set. No. 95 in C minor, showed Haydn, as Robbins Landon says in his magisterial book on the composer, "that he could not afford to be superficial". No. 96 in D major, on the other hand, they demanded again and again, often encoring the slow movement.

The symphonies here recorded are spaced out in the order of two to each of the three discs, and in spite of the criticism made of No. 95, I personally would not want to be without the whole lot. They are Nos. 93, D major; 94, G major ("Surprise"); 95, C major; 96, D major ("Miracle"); 97, C

major: 98, B flat major.

Tovey thought that the slow movement of No. 98 was a lament for the death of Mozart, and its predecessor, No. 97, is, Dr. Landon says, "the last in a long and interesting series of trumpet symphonies in C major which extends back to the earliest pre-Eisenstadt era and re-appears throughout his artistic career". The mention of trumpets brings to the fore the fact that Sir Thomas has not invariably used Haydn's original trumpet and drum parts, but, instead, those "revised" by some later hand: but only musicologists are likely to be pained at this and a few other such things. For the rest this extraordinarily inventive and glorious music is played with all of Sir Thomas's amazing vitality and sense of The recording, except for some cloudy moments in a few of the tuttis, (especially in the finales) is remarkably good. Silvestri would appear to be a "natural" for Liszt's tone-poems judging by his fine and even thrilling performances of Tasso and Les Préludes, with the Philharmonia Orchestra on H.M.V. ALP 1648. from the vulgar last section (depicting the

poet crowned with fame in Rome) there is much striking music in *Tasso*, which was written as an overture to Goethe's play of that name and first performed on the centenary of Goethe's birthday in 1849. I hope Silvestri will now record *Orpheus* and *Hamlet*, the best of Liszt's tone-poems.

There is no need to sigh at vet another recording of Tchaikovsky's Swan Lake ballet, for the excerpts chosen by Efrem Philharmonia conducting the Orchestra, contain pieces not found among the standard favourites and the disc also has the advantage of some lovely solo violin playing by Menuhin. This is a most desirable issue (H.M.V. ALP 1644). Perhaps you have to be very fond of Strauss, as I am, to want the Alpine Symphony, but if vou are. Karl Böhm and the Saxon State Orchestra offer an admirable and very well recorded performance of the huge score on D.G.G. DGM 18476. In the same way if you like Hindemith there is an interesting disc with the composer conducting his Concert Music for Piano, Brass, and Harps, op. 49 (with Monique Haas as pianist), Concerto for Orchestra, op 38, and Ballet Overture "Cupid and Psyche", all excellently played and recorded (D.G.G. DGM 18474).

Also recommended: Overture, Scherzo, Nocturne and Wedding March from Mendelssohn's Incidental Music to A Midsummer Night's Dream, splendidly played by the Concertgebouw Orchestra, conducted by George Szell (Philips GBR 6515), and a series of pieces by Wolf-Ferrari from Il Segreto di Susanna, I Rusteghi and I gioielli della Madonna played with great vitality and charm by the Philharmonia Orchestra conducted by Charles Mackerras (H.M.V. DLP 1193).

Chamber Music

Maja Weis-Osborn (soprano) and Kurt Rapf (harpiscord) have made a really charming disc of songs and instrumental pieces from the Clavierbüchlein vor Anna Magdalena Bach. The soprano has a most pleasing voice and the right intimate style and Kurt Rapf—who includes many pieces that made many of us first acquainted with Bach—plays well but somewhat on the loud side. The volume, therefore, needs to be controlled (Vanguard PVL 7048).

Opera

There are two splendid first recordings of opera, Puccini's The Girl of the Golden West and Verdi's Simone Boccanegra. In



HIS MASTER'S VOICE

RECORDS

E.M.I. Records Ltd., 8-11, Great Castle Street, London,

the Puccini opera Tebaldi, Cornell MacNeil. Monaco, and Tozzi are the principals, with the chorus and orchestra of the San Cecilia Academy, Rome, conducted by Capuana (Decca LXT 5463-5). I have had an affection for this opera ever since I heard the first performance at Covent Garden, with Destinn, Bassi, and Dinh Gilly, in 1911. There are some weaknesses here and there. but also much moving, imaginative and dramatic music, and the performance and recording are first-rate. Equally fine in its different way is Simone Boccanegra, with Gobbi (giving the performance of his life) Christoff, los Angeles, and Campora in the chief parts and Santini conducting the Rome Opera House Chorus and Orchestra (H.M.V. ALPS 1634 and ALP 1635-6-the first disc being single-sided).

There is, indeed, such a large amount of glorious singing in these two operas that one feels the great days have returned: and, with the librettos, etc., that the companies now make so easily available, here is a feast of enjoyment.

Re-Issues

Not to be missed are the re-issues of Elizabeth Schumann singing, as she alone could, two arias from *Die Fledermaus* and doing her famous bird song imitations in Zeller's *Nightingale Song* (H.M.V. 7ER5108); and Kathleen Ferrier's beautiful performance of Brahms's *Alto Rhapsody* (Decca CEP 569).

ALEC ROBERTSON.



THE shape of the brave new world of investment for the small man is still uncertain, but the outlines are emerging from the mists on the horizon. Unit Trusts, with the "spread" they give in their portfolios and the expert management they provide, look like being the leaders in the contest for the savings of the multitude. To those already well established have been added some new ones sponsored by merchant-bankers, and the number of units sold in December ran into many millions. The publicity given to this form of investment caused many people who already knew the stock markets from

experience to buy some units to "put away"—though they never bought such issues in the past. To what extent the movement has touched the wage earners it is not yet possible to assess.

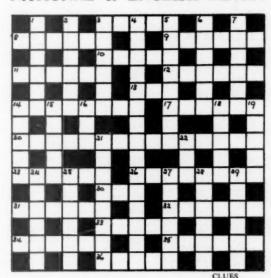
"Share shops" in the industrial areas, linked with the weekly pay packets, may prove to be the method favoured by the industrial worker if only because it will be easy to transact the business on pay day, and facilities for payment by instalments will be linked with the scheme. Suggestions for issuing bearer shares by firms participating in the scheme have been guardedly blessed by Government spokesmen-but it is unlikely that the scheme would have been acceptable if it had not included a provision that these bearer shares could not be dealt in on any Stock Exchange in the world. Another stipulation, intended to prevent speculation, was that buyers of shares by hire-purchase should not be allowed to resell until at least three months had elapsed.

To some extent the greater freedom the Banks are now enjoying leads to additional speculation if only because of the inherent difficulty of discerning how far any transaction for which an overdraft is requested is speculative. As H.P. companies borrow from the banks and many banks are now linked with H.P. houses, depositors' money is being increasingly used to finance "nevernever" business. All this development, together with large scale Government spending, has engendered a boom in the motor car, electrical appliance, furniture and other consumer durable industries. The Budget will doubtless give a boost to the boom.

These trends have naturally been reflected in stock markets, and during the last month of the year the undertone remained firm in spite of some end of the year profit-taking. Institutional buying had already taken stock out of the market when the new Unit Trusts found millions of pounds pouring into their coffers for investment in a published list of leading equities. Added to this, Wall St., after the briefest of "technical corrections", continued firm at the highest levels and some people began to argue that American investors might turn to London for better yields. The next "technical correction" could, and probably will, be much more severe than the last one and the London market will almost certainly shudder in sympathy.

LOMBARDO.

NATIONAL & ENGLISH REVIEW CROSSWORD No. 29



A Prize of one guinea will be awarded A Prize of one guinea will be awarded for the first correct solution opened on January 15. Please cut out and send, with your name and address, to National and English Review (Crossword), 2 Breams Buildings, London, E.C.4.

Last month's winner is:

Mrs. Macheth. Grove Hotel, Grove Road. Bournemouth.

SOLUTION TO CROSSWORD PUZZLE NUMBER 28

ACROSS.—4. Mistletoe. 9. Hearts. 11. Earl. 12. Rebuff. 13. Ioccap. 14. Assailing. 16. Tariff. 7. Mad. 18. Odo. 22. Artisan. 24. Formosa. 25. Eft. 27. Sie. 30. August. 32. Foolhardy. 33. Fickle. 34. Tabiú. 35. Idle. 36. Oransc. 33. Fickle. 3 37. Redstarts.

Down.—1. Christmas. 2. Career. 3. Steadfast. 5. Ill-used. 6. Turban. 7. Embalm. 8. Offend. 10. Sap. 15. Iago. 18. Onc. 19. Oft. 20. Croupiers. 21. Cattle pen. 23. Trio. 26. Faddist. 27. Solace. 28. Craims. 29. Patins. 31. Unkind. 33. Flo.

ACROSS

- One goes inside to clean a piece of furniture (5)
 Outstanding honour for stiffening agent (6)
 Doesn't supply continental port (6)
 I apply closure violently where religion is concerned (5)
 Put off the track because the queen is in parliament?
- 11. (6)
- Seem to be taken from a paper (6)
- Refreshing place in the north (3)
 Striking action about a number acting sheepishly (8)
 Restrained the worthless fellow on the bed (6)
- Illuminating reading-matter? (5-10) Unqualified, ran into craft (6)
- 30.
- 31
- Unqualitied, ran lino craft (6)
 Very indignant, fuming, one might say (8)
 Capital cover (3)
 Quietly angry buccancer (6)
 Looks for wit as a change (6)
 "To ..., is worth ambition though in hell." Milton
 (Paradise Lost) (5)
 In conclusion anualis director takes a drink (6)
- In conclusion aquatic director takes a drink (6)
- I'd fish at leisure (6)
 Follow the graduate in a matter of doctrine (5)

DOWN

- Tramps often look down this (2-4)

- Tramps often fook down this (2-4) Equip a girl for the navy (6) Hot stuff, though it sounds cold (6) This accounts for M.P.s' early rising (3-5-7) Story-teller giving mare corn perhaps (8) Puts up with an alternative in helpless amazement (6) The resident gets an item altered (6) A sirl investigate two counds in an air-line (5)
- 6.
- A girl investing two pounds in an air-line (5)
 "It is a nipping and an ... air." S
 (Hamlet) (5) Shakespeare

- An abstainer takes nothing in a glass (3)
 Dance for sportsmen (5)
 Fear of a writing snake (5)
 The boy stands about there when in the act of washing (8)
- Goddess who couldn't have been faster! (3) Fruit for artist's home (6)
- Fruit for affast's nome (b)
 The mountain hides a Royal Artillery deserter (6)
 Heads in a car maybe (6)
 Pole and nobleman almost make it, almost (6)
 Scope of formerly portable dwelling (6) 25. 27.

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